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1 September 1954

MEMORANDUM TO: Chief, SR/3

FROM : SR/3 W-2

SUBJECT : A report on the new ZCh/OUN

1. Attached is a translation of a report on the reorganization of the ZCh/OUN written by ARCAVATINA 16. This report was written at our request, made through AECASSOMARY 2, in order that we might have an official ZCh/OUN statement on the reorganization of that group in the event we decide to support it and as material to be used to brief other interested government agencies, especially the Department of State, on Ukrainian Rndgre activities, positions, etc.

2. The need for this report - among other reasons - became apparent when, in a memorandum to its Consulate in Bern apropos the request for an immigration visa by OUN member AECASSOMARY 7, the Department of State, looking with disfavor at this request, referred to all OUN members as fascists, adherents of Stefan BANDERA and all that this implies. (This, of course, would include all of our ZP/UHNR-AERODYNAMIC personnel as well.) Apparently, the Department of State is either not informed of the latest developments in the Ukrainian Rndgre circles or it has only outdated, distorted, or perhaps prejudiced information on which it bases its decisions in dealing with OUN and ZCh/OUN matters. This report, then, might help change this picture.

3. As soon as he registers with the Attorney General as an agent of a foreign country, ARCAVATINA 16 plans to submit to the Department of State similar and additional information on, and in behalf of, the ZCh/OUN.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

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*Caravina / 16
through Casbury / 2*

The following report was written by one of the two members of the Collegium of the Authorized of the newly reorganized ZCh/OUN (Foreign Section-Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in order to present, as a matter of record, the official account of the reorganization of the ZCh/OUN by Zinovy MATLA and Lev REBET in February, 1954, and to show that this new ZCh/OUN is in no way connected with Stefan BANDERA or the unauthorized organization also called ZCh/OUN which he continues to head.

The report contains a brief history of the ZCh/OUN, the causes of the dispute within that organization, the stand of the parties in the dispute, the OUN Provid's position (in the Ukraine) regarding the dispute, and the reorganization of the ZCh/OUN, its current structure and activities.

SECRET

SECRET

THE ZCh/CUN, ITS ORIGIN, CHARACTER AND TASKS

1. — The ZCh/CUN (Foreign Section of ^{of the} Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was established in Germany in February 1946 by a conference of two categories of CUN members (CUN members used here refers to those Ukrainian Nationalists who sided with Stefan BANDURA at the time of his split with ANDREY MELENKO in 1940), i.e. (a) those who were sent abroad by the CUN ~~Freid~~ (in the Ukraine) in July 1944, and (b) those who were brought to Germany from 1941 to 1944 and were confined in concentration camps until their release in 1944 and 1945.
2. — Prior to, during, and after the conference there were differences of opinion among the ZCh/CUN members which ultimately led to disputes and finally the split within the ZCh/CUN itself. The most serious dispute centered around the different estimates of the past activity and character of the CUN and the current question regarding the stand of the ZCh/CUN in reference to internal changes made within the CUN in the Ukraine during the German occupation of the Ukraine. Those CUN members who actively participated in the struggle in the Ukraine, particularly in the Central and Eastern sections of the Ukraine, insisted that the present ideological, constitutional, and practical-political principles of the CUN had undergone major revisions during the years 1941 - 1943 and that any new formation of Ukrainian Nationalists' organizations abroad must be built on these new principles, which principles had been contained in the Decisions of the CUN ~~the~~ Extraordinary Congress of August 1943. Thus, the primary subject of the dispute was the character of the CUN, i.e. its constitutional, ideological, and political positions. A lesser, but still an important adjunct to the dispute, was the question of what role the CUN was to play regarding other Ukrainian political forces and the Ukrainian people as a whole.
3. — Those who deemed it necessary to uphold the new positions of the CUN and to further their development based their arguments on the decisions of the ~~the~~ Extraordinary Congress, which were as follows:
 - a) The Pilsner principle, once characteristic of the CUN, was abolished and substituted for it was a system of collective leadership which democratized the internal CUN structure making it an anti-totalitarian organization.

SECRET

SECRET

- b) The ideological criteria, formerly used as a basis for the admission of members into the OUN and which made the organization exclusive ideologically, was abolished.
- c) The social-economic factor in the liberation struggle was adopted as a factor equally as important in the OUN platform as the national liberation and national sovereignty if the masses were to be mobilized against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.
- d) A concept of a common front of all nations enslaved by the Soviet regime was adopted, and the peaceful cooperation with all neighbors of the Ukraine, as well as the guaranteeing of equal rights to all national minorities in the Ukraine, was stressed.
- e) The OUN was defined as being one of many political formations in the Ukraine which was, of necessity, required to cooperate with other political forces in the fight for an independent Ukraine. Consequently, the directing of the Ukrainian liberation struggle was turned over to the UHVR (The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) in 1944, although the OUN remained the undisputed decisive political force in the Ukraine and in the UHVR.

4. — In the ZCh/OUN dispute Stefan BANDELA and his closest assistants and advisors, e.g. Yaroslav SYZEMKO, Stefan LEMIAVSKI, maintained that while the changes had been adopted by the OUN in their absence during the war — which changes did not conform with the prewar positions of orthodox nationalism — these changes should not be considered as binding on the ZCh/OUN now. They particularly desired to revert to the Führer principle in the OUN, to reject the democratization of the OUN, and insisted that the OUN again become an exclusive organization in directing Ukrainian political life both in the emigration and in the Ukraine. One reason for this stand was perhaps because Stefan BANDELA, SYZEMKO and LEMIAVSKI had not been elected by the ~~III~~ Extraordinary Congress to prominent positions in the OUN.

5. — Under such circumstances a real cooperation between these two factors, i.e. those for and those against the ~~III~~ Congress decisions, seemed impossible. This breach became more apparent during the ZCh/OUN Conference held in September, 1947, but it was not until the ZCh/OUN Conference of August 1948 (the Mittenwald Conference) that matters came to a head. To settle the dispute, the OUN Provid in the Ukraine was asked for a decision, with all the facts in the dispute being presented to it. In the Provid's reply in 1950 and again in 1953 it confirmed the ~~III~~ Extraordinary Congress' decisions

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SECRET

SECRET

to be blinding and valid, and at the same time it condemned the political positions of Stefan HADJIDA and his followers. The OUN Pervid further pointed out that the new OUN political platform was justified and accepted by the Ukrainian people and had been a factor in the mobilization of masses in the struggle against Bolshevism. However, the OUN Pervid desired that both factions in the dispute remain a cohesive group, settle their differences of opinion, and work together for the good of the organization. The decision rendered by the Pervid in 1953 regarding the settlement of the dispute was as follows: "The OUN Pervid in the Ukraine finds that Stefan HADJIDA departed from the decisions of the 1st extraordinary Congress. He is neither formally, or factually, the leader of the OUN. The Pervid desires that for the sake of OUN unity HADJIDA will cease his actions which are designed to split the organization and will instead his personal endeavor in the Ukraine to build from the same type activity there. The OUN Pervid authorizes Law Rukh, Znamory HADJIDA, and Stefan HADJIDA to assume temporary leadership of the 20th OUN and to reorganize this organization after the pattern of the OUN in the Ukraine. Signed - Law Rukh, Chairman, OUN Pervid in the Ukraine." 3

6. At the same time the OUN Pervid in the Ukraine dispatched its decision to the 20th OUN, the UHRN President in the Ukraine informed the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the UHRN that his mandate as Secretary and the mandate for the 2P/UHRN (Foreign Representation) Libertarian Supreme (Libertarian Council) had been confirmed. The document containing this confirmation was to be the basis for cooperation between the 2P/UHRN and the 20th OUN. It read as follows: "To the General Secretary of the 2P/UHRN, Nikola Lebed: We confirm your mandate and the mandate for the entire 2P/UHRN to represent abroad the UHRN and the entire Ukrainian Libertarian Movement. The 2P/UHRN is authorized by: (1) represent abroad the UHRN, the UPA (the Ukrainian Partisan Army), the Ukrainian Libertarian Underground, and the entire Ukrainian Libertarian-revolutionary movement; (2) carry out abroad political-diplomatic and informational activities in conformity with the Libertarian struggle of the Ukrainian people; (3) make decisions regarding quest of support from Foreign governments; (4) to serve as the supreme authority for co-UPA and other underground members in the organization. Attached to the 2P/UHRN is the UPA Mission which is authorized to handle UPA affairs. For the UHRN President, N. LEBOVY, and the Chairman of the UHRN Secretariat, Col. Vasil KOVAL."

7. Negotiations and discussions by Law Rukh, Znamory HADJIDA, and Stefan HADJIDA regarding the Hamaland mandate began in November 1953 and ended in a deadlock in February 1954 when HADJIDA refused to recognize or honor the Hamaland's decisions. Stefan HADJIDA

- 3 -
SECRET

SECRET

disagreed with the correctness of the OUN program in the Ukraine and sought to secure for himself dominance over the ZbU/OUN and to prevent its reorganization as directed by the OUN Provod. During the negotiations it became apparent to BALUKA's opposition that BALUKA's actions were becoming a damaging factor to the liberation struggle in the Ukraine in that he had taken steps to remove the OUN Provod in the Ukraine and to replace it with men of his choosing who would owe him to the chairmanship of the OUN Provod. It was realized that such a coup, if successful, would cause irreparable damage to the liberation struggle in the Ukraine in both organizational and political matters. It was under such circumstances, and because of these findings, that the negotiations ceased, with Lav HREB and ZANOVY HREBIA founding a "Collection of unauthorized to reform the ZbU/OUN in accordance with the OUN Provod's directives." At this break, BALUKA continued, along with those sympathetic to his cause, to head an unauthorized ZbU/OUN of his own, one not representing the OUN Provod in the Ukraine.

8. The official and reorganized ZbU/OUN presently is made up of the following operating branches: the Collection of the Authorized, the ZbU/OUN Political Council, and the ZbU/OUN Executive. Temporary members of these branches, pending election of permanent officers, and their duties are as follows:

a. Collection of the Authorized: Its members are Lav HREB and ZANOVY HREBIA who jointly are responsible for the management of the ZbU/OUN. They render decisions on current problems of the ZbU/OUN, confirm decisions made by the Political Council, and guide and control the activity of the Executive.

b. ZbU/OUN Political Council: The chairman of this branch is Dr. HANSEN KONDIUK and is composed of the following other members: Irene KOZAK, Daria HREB, Ivan SHKOVANYI, Dr. Ivan HRYNIOCH, Roman LUKYCH, Andrei KALINCHUK, ZANOVY MYKULICH, Borisen PINKALNYI, Modest HRYSHCHUK, and Volodimir SYDORCHUK. This branch is charged with the responsibility of weighing and rendering opinions on OUN policy matters abroad. Further, it is charged with the task of preparing programs for ZbU/OUN conferences in the field of ideology, organization, internal and external policy matters. To date, the Political Council has worked out a draft of the ZbU/OUN constitution and by-laws and the ZbU/OUN stand regarding the ABW, the UHR, and the ACIB.

c. ZbU/OUN Executive: The chairman of the Executive is Andrei LUKYCH. This branch is charged with the task of settling organizational and operational matters as directed by the "Collection of the Authorized."

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SECRET

9. ~~The~~ The current ZCh/OUN program and platform are based on the *decisions of the* Extraordinary Congress¹⁹⁴³ decisions of August 1943 as well as on subsequent official directives of the OUN *Provid* issued after World War II. Accordingly, it is here made known that Ukrainian Nationalism is a national-liberation, democratic, and anti-totalitarian movement, with the OUN being a national-political, liberation organization, supported by the Ukrainian people, which leads the struggle for political, social, and cultural rights of the Ukrainian people in an independent Ukrainian state. The OUN stands for national solidarity, *and* christian and common morality. The OUN believes that every nation has the right to complete national sovereignty, which sovereignty secures the full development of all creative forces of a nation. The Ukrainian nationalist movement is the embodiment of the ideas of freedom for the nation and the individual and for the establishment of a governmental structure in which every citizen regardless of race, background, religion or political conviction can be a free individual with guaranteed religious, political, cultural, social, and economic freedom.
10. — Apropos the principle of national solidarity, the OUN as an organized political force does not assume to be the one and only representative of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian people. The OUN believes that all Ukrainian groups striving for an independent Ukraine have an equal right in the liberation struggle and *the OUN* therefore, does not desire nor is it attempting to gain a monopoly now in the liberation struggle or later in an independent Ukrainian State. The OUN considers it necessary that other existing political parties and groups participate in the liberation struggle, in the leadership of this struggle, and in the responsibility that it involves.
11. — The OUN is fighting for Ukrainian national sovereignty on Ukrainian ethnographic territories and for the introduction of an electoral system for the selection of administrative officials immediately following Ukrainian independence. The OUN believes that during the liberation struggle the central leadership of this struggle should be in the hands of representatives of all participants regardless of political affiliation. It was for this reason that in 1944, the OUN supported the idea of and helped create the UHVR, which it continues to support at the present time.
12. — The specific functions of the ZCh/OUN are to support the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Ukraine and to spread liberation information *among* the Ukrainians in emigration as well as throughout the Western World. In carrying out these functions, the OUN is striving to unite all Ukrainian independence forces in the emigration on the basis of the ideological and political platform of the

SECRET

SECRET

Ukrainian liberation movement in the Ukraine. Aside from this, the OUN is combating Communist influence among the Ukrainian emigres. To carry out these functions, the ZCh/OUN has organized cell groups in those countries permitting such organizations to operate. In those countries where it is illegal for the ZCh/OUN to charter its sub-units as affiliates of the ZCh/OUN and all that this implies, it has organized sympathizer groups that are permitted to exist under certain laws of certain countries. For example, the ZCh/OUN now has cells or sympathizer groups representing it in Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and in the United States. In the United States a preparatory committee has been formed for the purpose of organizing and chartering the ZCh/OUN affiliate, "Association of Participants of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle". Members of this committee are: Ist KOSCHENKO (chairman), Turiy BOHOSKYI, Roman BOHOSKYI, Kirilo MASLOVICH, Zimoviy NATIA, Turiy NATIA, Gryp NYVOT, Kirilo POGOR, and Zimoviy SAKH. Some work of this group has been the publishing of the bulletin, "Materials of the Preparatory Committee of the Participants of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle".

13. Current publications of the ZCh/OUN are the weekly newspaper "Ukrainskyi Samostiynik" (The Ukrainian Independent) and a quarterly bulletin "Dokumenti i Problemy" (Documents and Problems). Both of these publications are printed in Munich, Germany.

Washington Comments

1. For the complete text of the Resolution and Decision of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress of the OUN, 21-25 August 1943, see SODB - 39178.
2. For the complete text of the "Position of the OUN Toward in the Ukraine on Various Controversial Questions and Urgent Problems Abroad", see SODB - 41225.
3. Cf. CSDB - 9872.
4. Cf. CSDB - 9646.

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